

THE DRAGON IN POLITICS,
—OR—
PROHIBITION
THE GREAT ISSUE.

—BY—
HENRY H. ROSER.

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A speech delivered at Freeport, Illinois.
October 15, 1888.
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“The State rests on such inherent and universal conditions in the constitution of man as to become a necessary out-growth under an organic law of its own; its immediate rightfulness is determined by its present relation to its own line of growth as defined by the public liberty.”—BASCOM.
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THE DRAGON IN POLITICS.

—OR—

Prohibition, the Great Issue.

Introduced by MR. R. J. HAZLETT, the chairman of the meeting, MR. ROSER spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The true province of a political speaker, as I apprehend it, is to present such an exposition of the principles and methods of the political parties in the field as will be of assistance to his hearers in determining on election day with what party they will cast the weight of their influence in order that the best interests of the American people may be conserved. I do not know how many Republicans there are present this evening, how many Democrats, or how many Prohibitionists and it does not matter so far as what I shall have to say is concerned. I am not here to say what will be pleasing for you to hear; I am not here to affirm only those propositions acceptable to my audience. I am here to give you my personal views upon this great question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic and kindred issues. I trust that no one has come here with the expectation of listening to an argument entirely in accordance with his own views. It is the duty of a public speaker to give his personal views upon the question which he proposes to discuss; it is the duty of his audience to receive those views, grant them proper consideration and then accept or reject them as conscience dictates. I have no harsh feelings in my heart for any Republican or Democrat who does not yet see his way clear to leave the old party and to act with the young Prohibition party, which has now fairly entered the arena of national

politics. I was once a Republican and no man cherished greater loyalty to that party or entertained more respect for the glorious record of its earlier days. And when, at the call of conscience, the time came to forsake its standard, no one did so with greater regret for its departed greatness. If I shall indulge in any invective this evening, it will be against the politicians who control the party machine and all who voluntarily further their designing machinations.

If any person desires to ask a question upon any point which will be brought up this evening, it will be in order at the close of the address and I will respond to the best of my ability. If I shall make any misstatement of fact, or any misrepresentation, whatever, during the evening, I trust that no one will hesitate a moment to correct it, for it is not my intention to pervert the truth. I believe in a fair, free and full discussion of the great economical and political questions which are agitating the minds of civilized mankind. And among these there is none which is of greater importance, or which more nearly concerns the dearest interests of man than the perplexing problem of setting in motion the machinery which shall best and soonest deliver the human race from the galling chains of slavery to the all-blighting habit of intemperance. There is nothing at which I feel more at home than in the crusade against this consuming evil. I am one of those volunteers who have enlisted for the war and who are determined never to lay down their arms until the last vestige of the curse of drink is blotted out of this fair land of ours.

And I want to say further, that the terms Republican party, Democratic party, and Prohibition party as used in my address this evening refer to the national organizations. I do not believe that there is such a thing, strictly speaking, as a state party. I do not believe that the policy of a party in two or three or four states materially affects the policy of that party as a national organization. The national body dictates the platform and methods of the party and from it there is no appeal save to the people themselves. And so, remembering that I shall deal entirely with the political parties as factors in the field of national politics, you will be enabled better to grasp the thoughts I shall present.

Permit me to spend a few moments in showing the rela-

tion of liquor-selling and liquor-drinking to the happiness of the individual, the welfare of the home, and the peace and good order of society. Going back to first principles, I have to say that man is a social being. He has thoughts, feelings, volitions. He was created with the disposition to exchange the results of his mental and of his physical labor for those of his fellow-man. Solitude is distasteful, abhorrent to him. The convict in prison fears no punishment so much as solitary confinement. Man cannot live alone. No person with unimpaired mental faculties would be content to live on a deserted island, cut off from communication with the world of mankind, even though he were surrounded with the comforts of civilized life. Any society is preferred by mankind to none. Even the outlaws organize and enforce a code of rules for the preservation of order and personal rights. There is no fact, I think, more axiomatic than the existence of the social instinct, not only in man, but in all animals.

The union of individuals in social organization does away, to an extent, with personal natural rights and obligations and as compensation creates personal civil rights and corresponding duties. Society is a perfect partnership. The wisdom of the adoption of a certain public policy is determined by its relation to the welfare of society as a whole. Individual rights are constantly giving way to the general good. My prerogatives as an individual end where those of society begin. Our actions as members of the body social are restricted in a thousand ways. I might stand upon this platform from now until morning giving you specific illustrations of this fact. I should quote the laws of this country, from the American constitution down to the most unimportant municipal regulation. I should instance the innumerable laws, rules and usages which govern our deportment in social intercourse. Each and every regulation imposes restraint upon some member of society.

The socialist, anarchist and saloon-keeper are entirely willing that others should surrender personal rights for the benefit of society, but when called upon in turn to make the sacrifice, they meet you with a snarl, and exclaim: "I thought this is a free country!" Personal liberty and personal license are essentially different in their nature. True personal liberty is

the heritage of the patriot, while the unbridled license which finds birth in the rebellious heart is the index of a traitor. The civic rights inherent in American citizenship are such as freeman should possess, but they do not overstep the bounds into the realm of license. Personal license carried to its legitimate outcome means anarchy and political chaos. It ignores the fact that the adoption of the social compact necessitates mutual rights and mutual duties.

The best exponent of this truth is our own government. No country on the face of the globe is more favorable to the development of a noble manhood and a true womanhood. Upon American soil every man is a sovereign by virtue of his citizenship. As a consequence it becomes more necessary here than elsewhere that the rights of our fellow-citizens should be respected and the duties of citizenship should be properly performed, inasmuch as our American system of government depends for its perpetuity upon the intelligence and integrity of the people. *Progress* is the watchword of this young republic, and before the bright sunlight of our magnificent American civilization, illiteracy and superstition are fast fading away.

The *home* is the foundation of the social structure. From it the church, the school, the state derive their existence. In primitive times they were all blended into one. The patriarchal or tribal form of government marks the beginning of civil organization and out of this has come the fact of the home as the unit of society. The man who can call no woman wife is only half a man; the woman who does not preside as mistress over a home is but half a woman. Imagine, if you please, the government in the hands of the bachelors and widowers! At the end of the first six months they would levy upon our homes for assistance. I believe that President James Buchanan, infamous old failure that he was, would have bequeathed to us a far worthier record, had he enjoyed the influences which come from a true home.

Our country and its grand institutions possess no greater security than the pure, happy homes which crown its hillsides and dot its valleys. They form a mighty shield of defense against the iconoclasm, anarchy, outlawry, and alcoholism of this age. To them we must look for the future rulers of our

nation, if the dearly bought liberties of our fathers are to be preserved for the enjoyment of future generations. The preservation and protection of the home in all its essential purity must, then, be the first concern of all good government. That is not only good sentiment: it is good politics, good statesmanship.

The third of a century since ante-bellum days has witnessed a complete re-arrangement of society upon this drink question. Not only has the American system of saloons been evolved, with its deceptive attractions and professional drunkard-making, but there has been a re-formation of the social classes into abstainers and non-abstainers. In other words, the sheep have been parted from the goats. We have reached a point in the history of this reform where the user of alcoholic beverages is labeled at once as a man who disregards the condemnation of friends, the wishes of dear ones, the voice of conscience, the teaching of science, and the command of God. There are few users of intoxicating liquors who are not the slaves of appetite. The drinkers of to-day are professionals—men who live for their appetites, who are willing to yield anything in preference to their liquor and who will sacrifice much to get it. These facts taken into consideration explain why it is possible for a large share of our population to idle away their time in the drinking-shops and to contribute so freely of their income, at the expense of home comforts. The key to this change is to be found in many causes which have been at work, chief among which are the adulteration of liquors, the demoralizing effects of the late war and the evolution of the American saloon.

Under the operation of the license system the liquor curse has grown to immense proportions until it overspreads with its baleful shadow every good thing. When we realize what a large proportion of the misery and woe and disease and crime entailed upon our generation is directly or indirectly inspired by the traffic in intoxicating liquors, it is then that the failure of the license system as one of regulation and restriction stands forth in all its appalling nakedness. Fifty years ago the traffic in liquors as a distinctive system had no existence. The sale of liquors then formed a part, and generally an important one, of the trade of grocers, tavern-

keepers and farmers. Out of these conditions has been evolved the American saloon as we find it to-day. The growth of the traffic has been something remarkable and now there is none more centralized or possessing greater solidarity. It is the principal menace to-day to the development of the great people who are rearing heavenward upon this western continent the magnificent structure which is to have as a tenement the apotheosis of liberty. It is a frightful incubus upon the best thought and energies of the American nation, which is bearing to the pinnacle of successful consummation the grandest empire of history. It has effected thorough organization in all its branches and is a power for evil to-day such as was never dreamed of in the early history of the traffic. Its influence in the politics of the country is all pervading. It maintains rings, pools and trusts, bribes legislators, subsidizes the press, lays its guilty hand upon our school system and leaves its slimy traces even in the temple of the everlasting God!

The work of organization against the liquor power is going on much the same as in years past and the liquor-seller is just as defiant. He has planted himself behind the narrow prejudices and unprogressive spirit of the age, still sanctioned by the state in his terrible work of destroying the noblest gift of God to man—reason. It is high time that the American people awake to a sense of the powerful hold which the liquor traffic has upon the life of the nation. If we do not crush the grog-shop, it will crush us! The liquor-sellers of this country are notorious law breakers. No other class so persistently and with greater impunity disregard the will of the people expressed in due form of law. The crime of the anarchist, who would replace our star-spangled banner with the crimson emblem of anarchy, is not one whit greater than that of the saloonkeeper, who tramples under foot all law which would restrict his business. There are some who think that God made a mistake when he created the species of humanity known as the liquor-dealer. No one has discovered any good in his business and many believe and affirm that by far the larger part of the evils entailed upon the human race are ascribable directly or indirectly to the traffic in alcoholic liquors, and yet Christian men look calmly on and vote to legalize the monstrous iniquity!

The assassination of Geo. C. Haddock, the fearless leader of the prohibition movement in Iowa, was a matter of little surprise when we consider the lawless character of the men whom he opposed. The murder was the legitimate fruit of the license system, which has been educating the liquor-dealer to believe that they and their business are entitled to the protection and fostering care of the state. Had the officers of the law done their duty in Sioux City, the martyrdom of Haddock would never have taken its place in history. Their dereliction made the murder possible. As it was, the enforcement of the law was left to a private citizen while the sworn officers of the law took the position of disinterested spectators or guilty accomplices of the outlawed traffickers. But the moral sense of the people has been aroused to such an extent as augurs the complete extirpation of the grog-shop system from the land. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the prohibition reform. The assassination of Haddock, Gambrel, Northrup, Pierce, Smith, and other defenders of the majesty of the law will have the opposite effect intended by the murderers. Instead of creating a sentiment in favor of the liquor-dealers, it has sounded the death knell to their hopes. Many timid ones who had before tolerated the enemies of law and order have been aroused to a sense of the inborn iniquity of the traffic. There has come the realization that these murders are the natural consequence of the domination by the liquor interests.

The abolition of the saloon by the will of the people is founded upon the relation of the liquor traffic to the peace, good order and welfare of society. There is a wide and plain difference between total abstinence as a personal, private virtue and the prohibition of liquor-selling by statutory or constitutional enactment. The one deals with the relation of the use of alcoholic liquors to the personal weal of the individual, the other deals with the relation of liquor-selling to the public weal. According to the highest legal authority, the United States Supreme Court, the state may suppress the traffic in intoxicating liquors, by virtue of its police power, upon the ground that it debauches the people, ruins character, encourages ignorance, destroys moral purpose, places a premium upon vice of all kinds and entirely unfits men for the important duties devolving upon citizenship in a free and enlight-

ened country. Grant, moreover, that the liquor traffic is a positive public evil, concede the premise that it is the true province of civil government to insure full and adequate protection to public health, harmony and prosperity, and you cannot logically escape the conclusion that the state may not license the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, but upon the contrary is under the strongest obligations to abolish the traffic. Take this thought with you for solemn consideration and it will so work itself into the very fiber and grain of your being that your consciousness will be pervaded in its entirety with the unavoidable conclusion, that the abolition of the liquor traffic is positively, unquestionably, eternally right, and the license of the traffic positively, unquestionably, eternally wrong. When the iron grip of the law has fastened itself upon the throat of the drunkard-maker, then, and not until then, will it be time to come to terms with the trafficker in the morals of a free people!

But the liquor-dealer is not the only one responsible for the terrible results flowing from the business of drunkard-making. You—voter for a license party—gave your permission that the right and privilege should be sold to him to carry on the infamous traffic. He is your direct agent in the business of despoiling the people of the necessities and comforts and luxuries of life. The old party voters may chuckle when they contemplate and figure over the profits that will accrue to them from the rum revenues, but they may be assured that accountability for the iniquity wrought out by this hellish work will be placed where it belongs—upon their shoulders. They may be assured that every piece of the money extorted from the unwilling hands of the traffickers in rum is covered with the blood of the whisky-slain. You may turn and squirm and twist, but as God lives and reigns, you can not evade your responsibility. Do not desert your agent and partner, I pray you, when the time for reckoning the account comes. You ought to have remembered, when you voted for a license party, what bitter, bitter fruits would be borne by the business to which your party proposes to afford legal protection.

The dealer in intoxicants not only takes the wages of the laborer, but he exchanges for it that which debases the

intellect, dethrones reason, makes the name of man a hollow mockery and robs him of his rarest joys. The abolition of the liquor traffic would work a practical solution of the much mooted labor problem. Strikes, hard times and financial crises would become much less frequent. Labor unions would find much less to occupy their time and energies. The threatening cry of "bread or blood!" would not then be heard from the throats of crazed mobs in our large cities. Is it then wise, as a matter of policy, that this over-reaching system of license should be maintained? Shall the state continue to barter the happiness and lives of her citizens for money? Has all distinction between decency and indecency, right and wrong been lost? It must be true that public sentiment upon this all-pervasive question will soon crysallize itself into action and this crying disgrace to our civilization be blotted out of existence!

The times point with unmistakable precision to the ultimate supremacy and triumphal reign of prohibition of the liquor traffic—sanctioned by the supreme will of the people, acting in their sovereign capacity. If experience has proved anything, it has that this policy is the supreme remedy for the evils entailed upon the state by the dread habit of intemperance. Our great aim as workers in this reform must be to advance the cause of temperance to an ultimate triumph so complete as to be irreversible. Whatever legitimate policy will best and soonest achieve the result is the one which should receive our support. Is it any wonder that we get discouraged in reclaiming the fallen, when the authority of the state sanctions and upholds the devilish work that is being carried on in the drunkard-factories? Take away that sanction, let the state draw its support from legitimate sources and the whisky traffic will receive its death blow. Prohibition will still the busy hand of the drunkard-maker, close the door of the drunkard-factory and bring to a close the magic dance of death which has held its fatal sway through the centuries. We shall then not need to save the victim from the cruel grasp of the red dragon; the fatal cup will be beyond his reach. No line of true temperance effort should be at this time abandoned. The trenches we have captured, the heights we have stormed, the positions we have taken should not be

surrendered; but there are fortresses, well-nigh impregnable, the importance of holding which cannot be too greatly emphasized at this time.

While the Good Templars are lifting one wretched victim out of the gutter, the liquor-dealers are preparing hundreds for the same destination. The grog-shops are the great stumbling block to individual abstinence. No moral suasion movement can have complete and permanent results so long as these death-traps carry on their pernicious work. The saloon-keeper stands ever ready to win back to his familiar haunts the former patron, whom a kind hand has led from the error of his way. Too often he succeeds in his devilish design. Every day and every hour lost in closing these busy manufactories of satan mean the postponement of victory for sobriety and truth and righteousness. Let us lay the ax at the root of this deadly upas tree, instead of pruning its branches! Our influence in this great reform must be an active, living force. We should begin to realize the enormity of the contest, the wideness and immensity of the interests concerned and the varied under-currents of justice and right which are pushing the reform to successful consummation. The liquor traffic is the same everywhere—in this city of Freeport, in the state of Illinois, in your sister states, across the mighty waters of the storm-tossed oceans. It brutalizes the husband and father, oppresses the long-suffering wife and spares not the babe in its cradle! Oh, in this grand movement for the amelioration of man's woes, the deepest feelings of the human heart have been touched. Only an evil entailing such wide-spread misery and crime could force the union of men and women and children of all ages, races and conditions in one catholic army, sworn to wipe out the curse from the face of the earth! Yes, we mean war, irrepressible war upon liquor-selling and liquor-drinking. The liquor traffic in many portions of this country has been crippled, but not yet extirpated; the finger-marks of the law are upon the throat of the red dragon, but it is not yet strangled. I now and forever declare myself, with the help of God, the unswerving enemy of the license system in all its forms and under any circumstances. It is the monster crime of the age and should be speedily blotted out of existence. Instead of fostering the

saloon, the law should protect the home. The people must be educated to look upon this matter in all its terrible reality. Yes, even now the rising tide of a Christian civilization is bearing upon its crest the life-boat of home protection.

The subserviency of some so-called temperance people to the liquor interests is something amazing. In the primaries and conventions of the old parties you find the saloon-keeper and the anti-saloonist, seated side by side, engaged in nominating the party ticket. Now, I ask, who nearly always controls the caucuses and conventions of the old parties? The liquor-dealer or his henchmen! If a temperance man is placed upon the ticket, it is by permission of the liquor dictators as a concession to the temperance vote. If a temperance measure or resolution is passed, its force is almost invariably weakened by an operation which designing politicians know so well how to perform. The anti-saloonists ignore the fact that they are being led by the nose, but boast over their success in getting a candidate upon the ticket and thus blindly play into the hands of the drunkard-makers. The anti-saloonists are hereby warned not to get into the habit of coquetting with the old parties—it is too much like eating soup with a fork. But we should not criticize the anti-saloonists too severely, for they serve a useful purpose in showing the true relation of the old parties to the liquor dragon. From the facile pen of Albert Griffin we learn of the hopeless subserviency of the Democratic party to the liquor interests. From the silver tongue of Senator Colquitt we learn how the Republican party is down in the mud before the liquor power of the nation.

I want to say that we have come to a time when no man can class himself a true defender of the American home or can remain loyal to the teachings and precepts of the Christian faith and the declarations of our church conferences and conventions upon the subject of prohibition and at the same time refuse to cast his vote and influence with the Prohibition party. I want to ask you of the old parties who are laymen, class-leaders, superintendents of Sunday schools and ministers of the gospel—what are your feelings when you realize that there are license men, saloon-keepers, brewers and distillers in the same caucus or convention with you, who are working and voting for the same ticket and who firmly believe that their

course of action builds up the interests of the infamous business in which they are engaged. "How can you pray, as I've heard some, 'Thy kingdom come'—then vote for rum?" You may be as sincere as you please in casting your ballot for one of the old whisky parties, but that does not change the effect of your vote one iota. Your influence is cast with the saloon and its interests and all your protestations of sincerity can not make it weigh for the home. It is not the voter's intention, but the character of the ballot he casts which effects the result.

It may be well for us to consider for a moment the function of the ballot in American polity. I will give you a brief definition: "A ballot is the register, in legal form, of the elector's will upon a public question." It extends not only to measures, but also to men commissioned to carry them out. But some one says: "You Prohibitionists vote in the air. I don't want to throw my vote away." Ladies and gentlemen, I would rather vote in the air every time than in the mud. If every vote that is not cast for the winning candidate is lost, then millions of our voters yearly exercise their right of franchise to no purpose. This view of the duty and effect of suffrage is a totally wrong conception. The vote that fails to elect is by no means thrown away. If you grant that every ballot at the last election represented the conscientious convictions of the elector who cast it, then it follows that not one vote was thrown away. All history teaches us that an act for conscience's sake is never lost. Right and wrong are not questions of majorities. The fear of defeat operates as a salutary check upon the action of political parties and is the only peaceful method by which the dominant majority can be compelled to respect the inalienable rights of the minority. Every grand reform of history—social, political or scientific—was once in the minority and was enabled to become the majority only by the loyal persistence of its advocates.

Why, then, a national Prohibition party? First, because it will divide the white and the colored vote of the south upon new lines and thus solve the troublesome race problem and guarantee the free ballot and fair count, which the twenty-four years of Republican rule have failed to secure. The purity of elections in the south will never be fully attained until the negro vote is divided. The whole tendency of the

old party methods is to keep that vote solid for the Republican party and the white vote the property of the Democratic party—thus perpetuating the natural and inherited enmity between the two races, instead of subduing it into a kindly consideration for each other's interests. The success of the Prohibition party at the polls will wipe out sectional animosities and race prejudices, promote national unity and conserve the general welfare. The *Chicago Tribune* says that not the tariff, but a free ballot and a fair count in the southern states, is the one dominating issue of this campaign. The Republican policy of waving the bloody shirt and forcing a solid south will never attain the desired end. Upon the contrary it serves to perpetuate the sectional hate, which ought to have been buried long ago in order that complete national unity might be attained. The time has come to bury these differences, re-form the lines and take up new issues for settlement. As Americans, let us turn our faces to the rising sun of progress!

The Republican party claims to be the loyal party, *par excellence*, of the country. I want to say that whatever blame was attached to the institution of slavery, the whole country shared it more or less. Treason is dead to-day. Under any circumstances it will stand a very poor show if it ever lifts its serpent head again. No party in the field monopolizes all the loyalty to the old standard of our fathers. If the grand old flag of our country were insulted, the young men of the nation would spring to its defence as one man, and we should not stop to assure ourselves whether we were Republicans, Democrats or Prohibitionists. I solemnly believe that the most patriotic sons and daughters of the nation to-day are those who are seeking the destruction of her greatest enemy, the legalized liquor traffic, which the Republican and Democratic parties are fostering. If there are any traitors in the country to-day, it is those who are nursing in her bosom this venomous reptile, which, if not destroyed, will sooner or later accomplish her ruin.

In vain has the Red Dragon taken up his position behind the throne of the American government. The American saloon is doomed when the Prohibition party accedes to power. No well informed person can conscientiously claim

that the interests of the liquor traffic will suffer by the success of either of the old parties. Neither will abolish the traffic. Both have had abundant opportunity to do so, had they desired. Instead of abolishing the liquor traffic, they have afforded it legal protection. Taxation and license are their policy. With a Republican and a Democratic saloon in the national capitol, saloons in the District of Columbia and the territories, the liquor traffic flourishing and increasing almost everywhere, how long, I ask, will it take the policy of the old parties to rid us of the saloon curse? The liquor-dealers do not fear either national party. There is a well-organized liquor faction in each. They have the old parties by the throat and can effectually prevent the passage of any measure inimical to their interests.

I want to say to the politicians of the two old organizations that there is outside of the Republican and the Democratic parties a large and increasing body of conscientious, patriotic voters, engaged in building up the Prohibition party, who already exercise a powerful influence upon the political contests of the day and who are fated ere long themselves to guide the destinies of this great nation. I can not offer the politicians more friendly advice than this: that they repent and flee from the wrath to come. I advise them to get under cover and escape the big cyclone which has made its appearance in the political horizon. We give fair warning that every politician that remains out during the storm will catch his death cold! This body of independent voters is a mighty force and can not be bought off, begged off or bulldozed off from the accomplishment of its purpose by all the blood-stained money in the coffers of the liquor power of this nation. It will sooner or later put an end to the infamous traffic in alcoholic liquors and its child—political skull-duggery. The one consoling thought in this age of partisan chicanery and social corruption is the existence of this purifying force, which is destined, in the logical course of events, to achieve victory for the cause of temperance, morality and political purity.

Did you ever hear of a temperance Democrat changing his political faith to Republicanism because of that party's stand upon the question of destroying the liquor curse; or of a temperance Republican joining the Democracy because of

that party's stand upon the question? If any such cases have been discovered, they are curiosities indeed. Upon the contrary the Prohibition party is receiving many accessions from the ranks of the two old parties, because of the more and more open and shameless subserviency of those parties to the liquor power. The Prohibition party is the only one not under the control of the saloon, the only party which stands for home protection, the only one committed openly and unequivocally to the prohibition of the saloon, the only party which opposes tax and license in any form and under any circumstances, the only one which can and will give us prohibition, not only upon the statute book, but as an actual, living fact.

I want to impress upon you of the Republican party, and it cannot be urged too strongly, that you cannot unite the prohibition sentiment of this country in your party. Partisan hatred, prejudices and associations will operate to prevent any such consummation. Democrats hate the name of Republican, Republicans hate the name of Democrat. Neither party can unite the prohibition vote. What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? It is this. The only manner in which the prohibitionists in both parties can join forces upon this great question is by coming out of the old, rum-ruled organizations and building up a new party with *prohibition* for its watch-word. With the advent upon the field of this new party partisan lines must be re-formed. American politics are to be revolutionized by this despised third party—destined to be the first—which has no repelling associations, no old and worn-out issues clinging to its skirts, with the inspiration of a new, vital, living issue to bear it on to ultimate success in state and nation.

The meanest man in existence has just been found—and naturally enough he lives in Chicago. This bad man was accustomed to scatter crumbs daily near a hole in the fence, and when his neighbor's hens flocked through to eat the crumbs, he shut them up in his barn to lay. He afterwards sold the eggs and pocketed the proceeds. When I read that story it reminded me forcibly of the manner in which the old parties have scattered their political crumbs near the hole in the fence and we Prohibitionists, like the gulls we were, would flock obediently through at every presidential election, vote

the old party ticket and then return. But the break in the political fence has been closed and hereafter we Prohibitionists propose to give the fruits of our labors to the rightful owner, the Prohibition party.

The claim has been made that Benjamin Harrison, the nominee of the Republican party for president, is a "good enough temperance man." If that is the case, it is in spite of the fact that he has personally declared his opposition to coercive temperance legislation. During the fight for the submission of a constitutional amendment in Indiana several years ago, General Harrison gave expression to the remark: "I do not believe in state prohibition as the best method of dealing with this question." Any man who makes such a stab at the cause of home protection is not a "good enough temperance man" and will not receive the support of consistent prohibitionists. The *Indianapolis Journal*, his personal organ, affirmed that he is too good a Republican to be a prohibitionist! If that is the case, he is too good a Republican to receive my vote. I have no hesitation this evening in bearing testimony to the upright and honorable character of Gen. Harrison as a man, and to his clean, temperate personal habits, but he entertains views and supports a platform which every prohibitionist in the land may with propriety condemn. Gen. Clinton B. Fisk would be no more worthy of our votes, did he support such views and such a platform. It is principles not men which challenge our best thought. Even Grover Cleveland has assumed the role of total abstainer and Allen Granby Thurman and Levi Parsons Morton may yet sign the pledge? Total abstinence is not sufficient, at this stage of the reform, to inspire confidence in the leadership of any man. We have got past that point. What we demand to-day are candidates who are openly and emphatically in favor of prohibition of the liquor traffic and who are opposed to license and license parties under any circumstances. Timid leaders and half-hearted measures will never fill the present demands of this great reform movement.

The Prohibition party has been remarkably happy in its choice of standard bearers. Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, the candidate of that party for president, is a model Christian gentleman and the most active and prominent layman in the great

Methodist Episcopal Church. He is much beloved for his labors among the poor and despised of the nation and he has been intimately connected with the educational development of the south and some portions of the north. Fisk University, of Nashville, Tenn., famous the world around, stands one of the monuments to his philanthropic zeal. The negro has had cause to bless the day upon which Clinton B. Fisk first saw the light. His career as a soldier is highly creditable to him. He entered the service as a private upon the day following the fall of Fort Sumter and was mustered out at the close of the war a brevet major-general. What better testimony could be desired to his bravery and efficiency during those trying times? Gen. Harrison was a great soldier; Gen. Fisk was as great a soldier. The latter enjoyed the highest confidence of Pres. Lincoln and Gen. Grant, the latter of whom paid a high tribute to his character as a man and a statesman. If sent to the White House by the suffrages of the American people, I am sure he would grace the presidential chair.

Dr. John A. Brooks, our nominee for vice-president, is a clergyman of the Christian faith. His labors as a worker for the Church have resulted in converting thousands. He has the reputation of being a genial, sincere, whole-souled gentleman. He has accomplished a mighty work for the cause of prohibition, yet in harmony with the Prohibition party only since 1884. Although in sympathy with slavery and the confederate cause when a young man, Dr. Brooks now admits that we were right and he was wrong. He sees the error of his former opinions, which he entertained as the result of the training received from his early surroundings. The stars and stripes have to-day no more sincere and loyal adherent and no one would spring sooner to its defence. He has expended much time and money in the prosecution of his labors for prohibition and the cause has to-day few abler or worthier champions. He is now giving his entire time to the work of freeing this nation from a bondage more terrible than that of African slavery. Dr. Brooks is the exponent of the new political faith, wherein north and south, forgetting the past, clasp friendly hands over Mason and Dixon's line and swear eternal enmity to the drunkard-making system of the United States and all men and parties that sustain it. When

we contemplate the life-long labor of love of this man and then read the mean, low, contemptible lies published by the paper warriors upon the staffs of Republican newspapers, who never smelt powder and who know less of war than a kitten does of Grecian history, we can then realize to what a pass the grand old party of moral ideas has been brought. The brutal attacks being made upon Brooks are merely a repetition of St. John's experience in 1884. Nothing will be too coarse or vile to be said of him during this campaign.

I was conversing upon political topics with a Republican friend a short time ago and he said: "Roser, you fellows are trying to kill the Republican party and place the Democratic party into power. You want to defeat the only true temperance party and let in the free-whisky Democrats." I replied: "What has the Republican party done during its twenty-four years' lease of power to warrant your claim that it is the only true temperance party? If it has diminished the consumption of intoxicating beverages or rendered the liquor traffic less harmful and less influential, then we shall be compelled at once to consider your claim." But what are the facts in the case? The Republican party came into power in 1861. In 1863, the first year under the internal revenue system, the per capita consumption of intoxicating liquors in this country amounted to two gallons; in 1884, the last year of Republican rule, the per capita consumption of intoxicating liquors had increased from about two gallons to the enormous amount of over ten gallons. And the Democratic party is continuing the same policy with similar results. That is regulation of a surety. That is restriction with a vengeance!

The New York *Daily Tribune* of October 11, 1884, contained a letter from a member of the National Brewers' Association, acknowledging, with gratitude, the fostering care of the Republican party for the brewing interests. I will quote you a short extract from his letter:

"The National Brewers' Association is now twenty-four years old. During all those years the Republicans have been in power in national affairs and I submit to every candid brewer, be he Democrat or be he Republican, if the brewing interests of this country have not grown to immense proportions, if our

rights and interests have not been protected, fostered and encouraged by our government. Remove the tax upon beer and within six months brewery property in this country will not be worth twenty-five cents upon the dollar."

Let us consider for a moment the effect of the national whisky tax upon the traffic in liquors. Its first and most obvious effect was to eliminate many of the small distilleries scattered over the country and to encourage the building up of large distilleries with the capacity of thousands daily. The manufacture of whisky was placed in the hands of a few wealthy capitalists, who were nothing if not unscrupulous. They soon learned the extent of their power and influence. Organization was effected and a systematic campaign in the interests of the liquor-dealers inaugurated. Whisky rings sprang up, congress was besieged, pools and trusts flourished. Advantage was taken of every change in the amount of the tax for speculating purposes. The government was defrauded out of untold millions of revenue. Even the White House did not escape the general contamination: it was at one time under the complete control of the whisky oligarchy. To show the relation sustained by our government to the liquor interests I cite Mr. C. A. Bates, representative of the United States government to the National Brewers' Congress which met at New York, in 1872. In his address to that body Mr. Bates said among other things:

"You have begun well. Let us take no backward step. I say us, for I am with you. The commissioner of internal revenue is with you. The president is with you. Every patriotic citizen is with you, if you hold to your course."

This infamous sentiment represents the true relation of the liquor traffic to this government ever since it entered the disgraceful partnership. It is the dissolution of this legalized conspiracy against public morals which Prohibitionists demand to-day. The disestablishment of the liquor power from its position in official relation to this government must be secured to prepare the way for absolute prohibition. You old party men scout the idea that the government protects and encourages the liquor traffic. Is it not the natural inference that it should do so in return for the large revenue which it collects thereon? Is it not for the financial benefit of the government to foster and build up the manufacture of

whisky? Permit me to quote upon this point Senator Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, a life-long Republican and Secretary of the Treasury during the last year of General Grant's second administration. In a speech in the senate of the forty-third congress, Mr. Morrill used the following language:

"Whenever the government lends its moral countenance to, and encourages the importation and production of spirits, of course you can not, senators will see that it is impossible to, control the sale. It becomes popular, it is taken out of the ban at once and it increases everywhere. That, I think, is the history in this country and elsewhere. It is the natural, it is the irresistible effect."

It seems strange that the same individuals who condemn our high protective tariff as a breeder of rings, monopolies and trusts can not perceive that the same result has followed the imposition of a tax upon spirits. If there have been any more insufferable combinations against the peace, good order and welfare of society than the whisky rings, they have yet to be made known. However oppressive a high protective tariff may be upon the laboring classes, I am sure it will not compare with the damning, blighting effects of the liquor traffic from either a moral or a financial point of view.

The history of high license, of which the tax upon spirits is an aggravated form, proves it to be a stupendous failure as a measure of temperance reform. It suppresses the use of alcohol for industrial purposes and increases the consumption of intoxicating beverages. It affords protection to the liquor traffic from the assaults of the prohibitionists and grants it a new lease of life. It solidifies and centralizes the traffic and renders it a greater power for evil. Until removed, it must remain the greatest obstacle to the adoption of prohibition.

The Republican party is a license party and the Democratic party is a license party. The Republican party is a liquor party and the Democratic party is a liquor party. Vote for either Cleveland or Harrison and you vote for the domination of the American saloon with all its blighting, blasting influences. Both of these men were nominated by conventions that were half drunk. This is a serious charge to make, but I can substantiate it, and for witnesses I will summon not Prohibitionists, but members of the good, reliable old party press.

Let us turn our attention first to the history of the recent Republican convention at Chicago. According to the *Inter-Ocean*, an orthodox Republican organ, the Milwaukee brewers were compelled to send down to Chicago during convention week, 500 car-loads, or 62,500 barrels of beer, above the usual supply. Upon this liquor alone the Chicago saloon-keepers cleared \$750,000 and the Milwaukee brewers pocketed \$500,000. From the columns of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* I gather the following alleged facts in regard to the drunkenness at the convention. As you are aware, the *Advocate* is the organ of the M. E. Church for the north-western states. Dr. Arthur Edwards, the editor, is a loyal Republican. If this description constitutes abuse, then a Republican religious journal is guilty of it. According to the *Advocate*, the California delegation came to the convention in a special train, with 250 cases of assorted liquors, half a dozen brands of brandies and four barrels of port, claret and sherry, valued at \$1200. They opened a free bar at the Leland Hotel and furnished three colored bar-tenders to wait upon the thirsty crowd. Upon a wall of the bar-room hung a large portrait of James G. Blaine. At the Grand Pacific Hotel, the bar, which is as long as a lake steamer, opened directly into the headquarters of the Ohio delegation and was within a few steps of the headquarters of the presidential candidates. The great bar-rooms and gorgeous cafes in the vicinity of the convention hall and the headquarters of the candidates fairly swarmed. All day Sunday the high license saloons were open and there was an *into-saloon* Republican movement of vast proportions. Indeed, the *into-saloon* movement from first to last, was vastly more formidable than the *anti-saloon* movement ever was. In fine, it was one vast, drunken carousal. Of course, there were temperance men among the delegates, but they cut no figure and the bar-keepers did not miss them.

The train which bore westward the great liquor-dealers of New York, Sheridan Shook, "Wicked" Gibbs, "Jake" Hess and others brought case upon case of liquors of all kinds. The same was true of the train which brought Frank J. Carroll, Dennis Shea, Barney Biglin and other shining lights of the grand old party. Upon a special Sunday

train were John J. O'Brien, "Silver Dollar" Smith, Barney O'Rourke, and their followers. The run of this train from New York to Chicago was characterized by scenes of a most shameless nature. At Ypsilanti, Michigan, a great rush was made for the Neal House and the bar-keeper was compelled to open against his protest, and contrary to law. Fifty men from the train entered this bar-room during the five minute stop. At Jackson, scores of bottles were filled and carried in open sight upon the train. At Marshal, no saloon could be found and the Republican liquor men left with many maledictions upon the unfortunate dry town. At Niles, the nearest bar-room is two rods from the station, but the train stopped long enough for twenty-eight men to enter and fill up again. These are merely samples of some of the delegates that helped to nominate the presidential candidates of the only true temperance party!

A gentleman writing to the *New York Voice* gives his experience as follows:

"I wish every Christian minister and every lover of good society who is clinging to the remnants of the old party of morals could have stood with me amidst the delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago and looked at the rum-soaked faces and bleared eyes, have seen them crowding the high-license saloons, or staggering through the streets, and heard their drunken speeches. I, indeed, felt ashamed even to be found standing with them. How much more ashamed, then, should one feel in being found voting with or for them. Leonard Swett said in substance in nominating his candidate: 'The Republican party is broken in fragments.' Why should it not be broken, when such men as these are sent to its national convention? One of these delegates said. 'I am a delegate from hell.' No one doubted his assertion. Many more might have claimed such a constituency without exciting doubt in the minds of their hearers."

At Saint Louis, the scenes were of a similar nature, though not quite so open or shameless. Sunday was a comparatively quiet day, nearly all the saloons having been closed by the city police under the state Sabbath law, notwithstanding the fact that the city of Saint Louis and the state of Missouri are under Democratic rule. You will remember that the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois are under Republican control. I was told by a delegate to the Saint Louis convention that so far as he could discover (and he took particular pains

to study the situation,) not a southern delegation furnished liquor at its headquarters. He visited many of them personally and was proffered refreshments in the form of fruits and non-alcoholic beverages, but no liquors were to be had. I want to say that there are more anti-saloon Democrats than many believe. They do not make so much noise as the anti-saloon Republicans, but they are entitled to the credit of having achieved some practical results in their section of the country.

A Baptist minister of Kansas, after visiting both conventions, exclaimed: "I saw more liquor-drinking in Saint Louis than I had seen before in fifteen years, but I saw more liquor-drinking in Chicago during the Republican convention than I had seen before in all my life. I am thoroughly satisfied and from this time on am a party Prohibitionist." A leading clergyman of Nebraska visited the Chicago convention as a Republican and returned a strong Prohibitionist. It is safe to say that if every temperance Republican and every temperance Democrat had attended these two great conventions, a large proportion of them would have renounced their old faith. Ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me that the time has indeed come to administer a scathing rebuke to this disgraceful method of presenting candidates for the suffrages of the American people!

The manner in which the prohibitionists were snubbed at these two great conventions ought to be sufficient to drive every sincere, thoughtful prohibitionist into the Prohibition party. Some of the most prominent ladies of the southern states sent up a petition to the Democratic convention at St. Louis, asking them to leave out of their platform that old stale declaration against sumptuary laws and to adopt in its place a resolution in favor of abolishing the licensed saloon. What did they get in response to their appeal? It is true that the sumptuary plank was omitted, but it was re-affirmed with the rest of the platform of 1884, and no declaration against the liquor traffic was adopted. Thus were these wives and mothers contemptuously turned away without remedy against the destroyer of their homes.

At Chicago, the anti-saloon Republicans made a similar request and they likewise received only contempt and repulse.

The platform maintained a profound silence upon the issue of prohibition, while at the same time re-affirming the infamous Raster resolution of 1872, declaring in favor of the personal liberties of the citizens and the contingent repeal of the national whisky tax. Herman Raster, the editor of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, said of the Republican platform: "Under the circumstances it is a liquor and personal liberty platform." The leading Republican liquor-dealers expressed their satisfaction with it as it came from the hands of the committee upon resolutions. The only complaint that was made came from Albert Griffin and his followers, who had labored so hard before the committee to secure the adoption of an anti-saloon plank. The opposition was led by Senator C. B. Palmer, of Illinois, and Hon. W. E. Carter, of Wisconsin. Mr. Carter is reported by the *Evening Wisconsin*, of Milwaukee, to have made the following speech before the committee. I will state that I am personally acquainted with Mr. Carter, and my impression is that the gentleman has been reported correctly in this instance, at least substantially. Mr. Carter said:

"Gentlemen, we are temperance men ourselves, but we are not here for temperance, but for party success. We warn you that any temperance declaration in your platform will lose us the liquor and German vote, and will lose the party the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Illinois. Can you afford to lose those states?"

The advice of these gentlemen was taken and the plank rejected. The platform as reported by the committee was adopted by the convention without one dissenting voice. But during the days following, the anti-saloonists were not idle. Something must be done to save the grand old party. It was decided to offer a resolution at the last moment and Congressman Boutelle, of Maine, was commissioned to introduce it. The resolution read as follows:

"*Resolved*, that the first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes. The Republican party sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality."

This resolution reminds me very much of a certain man a Chicago paper tells about. He was obliged to stand up three times in the same spot to cast a shadow, he was so exceedingly thin. At first there was great opposition manifested to the

reading of the resolution, the impression having spread that it was a declaration against the liquor traffic, but when the language of it was understood, it was adopted without ado, only one delegate, it is said, voting against it. It is to be presumed that the liquor-dealers in the convention voted in favor of the codicil, there being no opposition discernible. This resolution sounds very much like the one adopted at the first meeting of the National Protective Association of distillers, which was held in Chicago, in October, 1886. The difference between the two resolutions seems to turn upon the fact that the liquor-dealers declared more strongly than the Republicans in favor of "temperance and morality." I will quote you that resolution:

"Resolved, that we most earnestly favor temperance and most strongly condemn intemperance.

"Resolved, that we are in favor of both public and private morality and good order and popular education."

A North Carolina editor, who publishes a Prohibition party paper, reports an amusing incident in this connection. He says that he placed these two resolutions upon the desk in his sanctum, with the intention of publishing them in his paper in parallel columns, to show their similarity to each other. In the mean time a gust of wind came in at the window and swept the slips of paper to the floor, where they were mixed. He has spent the time since in trying to solve the perplexing problem of distinguishing between them. It is said that Sheridan Shook, a prominent brewer of New York, gave his approval of the Republican resolution in the following words: "I am certainly not opposed to it. There is nothing stronger there than a pleasant dose of catnip tea. Why, we brewers went further than that at our last meeting." So Sheridan Shook and his friends were made happy, and Albert Griffin and his followers were made happy, and on the sixth of November next both parties will march up to the polls and cast their ballot for Harrison and Morton and—temperance.

Dr. T. L. Cuyler and Dr. R. S. Storrs, the well-known preachers of Brooklyn, life-long Republicans, denounced the free whisky and high tariff platform of the Republicans when it was adopted, and threatened to "take to the woods." They have since recovered their good humor somewhat, and now

declare in substance as follows: "We are strongly opposed to free whisky and the retention of oppressive war taxes,¹ but nevertheless we shall vote the old party ticket. We cannot desert the old Republican party and let in the bad Democrats." These men represent a large class in the Republican party. I want to ask these worthy gentlemen just one question. If you give your votes to a party when it goes astray, what incentive do you furnish it to correct its action and do right? Political wisdom says: Show your disapproval of a party's wrong doing by rebuking it where the rebuke will be felt—at the polls. As long as the leaders of the old parties have the assurance that the prohibition element will not desert them under any circumstances, just so long will they continue to ignore their demands. The history of the movement in the prohibitory states fully bears out this affirmation.

We are met sometimes with the stale, worn-out argument, never having the slightest foundation in truth, that the Republican party has given us all the prohibitory legislation we ever had. This absurd claim is made either by those who do not know the facts in the case, and who seem to care less, or by those who cunningly pervert the truth in order to forward their base designs. I want to brand the statement right here as false in every word and letter of it. No thoughtful, candid person would make such claim at this stage of the reform. The great Maine law movement, which is the basis of the present political temperance reform, had swept a dozen states before the Republican party was born! Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the Democratic party has passed prohibitory laws in thirteen states, the Whig party in three states, the American party in two and the Know Nothings in one state. Since the organization of the Republican party, prohibition has been adopted by eight states while they were under the control of that party. When we come to examine the debtor side of the ledger we find that eight states have dropped prohibition while under Republican rule and six states have dropped prohibition while under Democratic control. It seems from this that the Republicans have been the more inclined to respond to the demands of the whisky power.

It is the height of demagogery for any one to maintain

that the credit for enacting all the temperance legislation in this country is due to any one party. There has not been a political party for fifty years which has not been more or less swayed by the force of the temperance sentiment which has been steadily gathering through the century.* I want to say that the Prohibition party is receiving many accessions from the ranks of the Democratic party. Before election we shall have an electoral ticket in the field in every southern state. The south, the stronghold of Democracy, is ripe for the new crusade, and although, as in the north, political hucksters and broken down politicians are trying to head off the movement for fear of its effect upon the prospects of the Democratic party, nevertheless their efforts will be as fruitless as those of their Republican brethren in the north. The tide of political prohibition is sweeping over the country with resistless force. Whoever attempts to check its onward course will be swept under as though of no more importance than a straw.

During the last campaign we were told of the direful results that would happen if the Democrats came into power. The rebel soldiers would be pensioned, slavery re-established, the confederate war debt paid, the crops would fail, floods and blizzards would prevail, the grasshoppers would fatten on the land and the sun and moon and stars would be blotted out of existence! Almost four years have passed since then, during which the Democrats have been in power. The confederates have not been pensioned nor the negroes re-enslaved, the crops have been above the average, the grasshoppers have forgotten

*The *New York Voice* has carefully collated, and in its issue of July 26th last publishes, statistics bearing upon this question. The *Voice* is excellent authority, and I quote from it here in reply to the claim referred to in the text. According to this table the following states have adopted prohibition while under Republican control: New York, 1855; Michigan, 1855; New Hampshire, 1855; Maine, 1858; Massachusetts, 1869; Rhode Island, 1874; Kansas, 1881; Iowa, 1884; Rhode Island, 1886. The following have dropped prohibition while under Republican control: New York, 1855; Iowa, 1856; Indiana, 1858; Rhode Island, 1863; Nebraska, 1867; Massachusetts, 1868; Connecticut, 1872; Massachusetts, 1875; Michigan, 1875; Rhode Island, 1875. The following states have adopted prohibition while under Democratic control: Maine, 1846 and 1851; Illinois, 1851; Minnesota, 1852; R. I., 1852; Massachusetts, 1852; Michigan, 1853; Ohio, 1854; Iowa, 1855; Indiana, 1855; Nebraska, 1855; Mississippi, 1855; Texas, 1855; South Carolina, 1881. The following have dropped prohibition while under Democratic control: Massachusetts, 1853; Illinois, 1853; Maine, 1856; Pennsylvania, 1856; Ohio, 1859; Texas, 1876. The Whigs enacted prohibitory laws in Vermont, 1852; Connecticut, 1854; Pennsylvania, 1855. The American party passed a prohibitory law in Massachusetts in 1855 and another in Delaware in the same year, but repealed the latter in 1857. The Know Nothings enacted a prohibitory law in Rhode Island in 1855.

the program, for they have failed to put in an appearance, and the sun sends down his shining rays, and the moon her silvery beams and the stars their glimmering pencils of light, very much the same as since the creation of the world. I challenge you to indicate to me any appreciable difference in the material prosperity of our country under the administrations of the two old parties. This cry is simply a blind to cover the machinations of designing politicians.

The whips of the politicians are becoming more and more powerless to drive the intelligent, conscientious voters back into the ranks of the old parties. I am reminded of a story which comes from the east, and as it was told by a Yankee sportsman, it must be true. He was explaining how he had won a certain race. For four weeks he mixed soft rubber with his horse's oats and every day he took the horse out, tied him to a post and opened a blue cotton umbrella in his face, causing him to pull back, stretching his neck to a fearful extent. Then he would shut the umbrella, the horse would stop pulling and his neck would resume its original length. He succeeded in getting the horse's neck very elastic and upon the day of the race, when the animals were upon the home stretch, side by side, just at the finish, the driver gave this man's horse a sharp blow behind the ears—and his neck shot out almost a rod, winning the race by a neck! So the Republican party has at every presidential election mixed free trade, bloody shirt and rebel pensions with our political oats and an extra hard blow of the party whip just before election sent the Republican horse under the wire a neck ahead. But in 1884 the scheme did not seem to succeed. The old nag failed to respond to the touch of the driver and the Democratic animal won the race!

The political wire-pullers are trying to blind the eyes of the people to the true issues of this campaign. I want to say this evening that the protection of the homes of our land from the overshadowing curse of drunkard-making is the real issue in American politics to-day, and will remain so until it is settled and settled right—in favor of the home. The Prohibition party is the only party which deserves success at the ballot-box, for it is the only party squarely committed to the cause of home-protection and the rights of women. America's manhood is half drunk to-day! What we must attain is a sober,

intelligent citizenship, in order that the performance of the important duties devolving upon it may justify the American plan, which crowns every man a king in his own right.

There is no essential difference between the two old parties to-day. I say essential difference. They are both after the saloon vote. In their view the offices are all there is worth fighting for. "Turn the rascals out!" and "keep the rascals out!" are their slogans of war. To what a pass are they brought in their old age. Have you ever compared the two platforms upon which they fought out their last campaign? They do not join issue upon a single public question. Unless you have committed the language of these platforms, I warrant that there is not a Republican, Democrat or Prohibitionist before me who can distinguish between the planks as I read them:

COMPARISON OF THE PLATFORMS OF 1884.

Republican.

Democratic.

1. CURRENCY.

We favor an honest currency
....We have always recom-
mended the best money....
and we urge....an internation-
al standard....of gold and
silver coinage.

We believe in honest money,
the gold and silver coinage of
the constitution and a circulat-
ing medium convertible into
such medium without loss.

2. PURITY OF ELECTIONS.

The perpetuity of our insti-
tutions rests upon a free ballot.
an honest count and correct
returns.

We believe in a free ballot
and a fair count.

3. CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

We pledge ourselves to sus-
tain the present law restricting
Chinese immigration.

American civilization de-
mands that against the immi-
gration of the Mongolian to
these shores our gates be closed

4. FOREIGN POLICY.

We favor a policy which
seeks peace and trade with all
powers, but especially with
those of the western hemi-
sphere.

We favor an American con-
tinental policy based upon
more intimate commercial and
political relations with the
fifteen American republics.

5. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Reform of the civil service
should be completed.

We favor honest civil ser-
vice reform.

6. STATE RIGHTS

The national government is
supreme within the sphere of
its national duties, but the
states have reserved rights
which should be faithfully
maintained.

The reserved rights of the
states and the supremacy of
the federal government within
the limits of the constitution
will ever form the true basis
of our liberties.

7. PUBLIC LANDS.

The public lands, as far as possible, should be reserved for small holdings by actual settlers. We demand the forfeiture of all unearned land grants.

The public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers. All unearned land grants should be restored to the public domain.

8. CIVIL RIGHTS.

We pledge ourselves to such legislation as will secure to every citizen of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

We hold that equal and exact justice should be meted out to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

9. TERRITORIAL APPOINTMENTS.

Appointments to federal offices in the territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the territories where they are to serve.

The selection of federal officers for the territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

10. PROTECTION TO AMERICAN CITIZENS.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption.

It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all rights of person and property of every American citizen in foreign lands.

11. PENSIONS.

We stand pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled in the late war and for the widows and orphans of those who died.

The internal revenue, as long as it continues, should be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic and for the payment of such pensions as congress may, from time to time, grant to such soldiers.

12. SURPLUS.

We pledge ourselves to reduce the surplus.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government.

13. TARIFF.

We pledge ourselves to correct the inequalities of the tariff. We demand that the imposition of duties shall be made not for revenue only, but to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer.

We pledge ourselves to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all. But in making a reduction of taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industry, but rather to promote their healthy growth.

The national conventions of 1888 reaffirmed these platforms of 1884 and if the word *reaffirm* means anything, it means that they are good doctrine with the old parties to-day. It is true that the politicians are striving to make the tariff question the dividing issue. You have all heard much of the Mills bill, which passed the House of Representatives some time ago. It was an administration measure and according to the estimate of the committee on ways and means would reduce the national revenue about sixty-five millions of dollars (\$65,000,000). The Democrats voted for the bill and the Republicans opposed its passage. Why? Because it would revise the present tariff system and reduce the surplus? Not at all. I have shown you that the Republicans, as well as the Democrats, through their great leaders and their conventions, have declared in favor of tariff revision. The members voted almost to a man as the party dictum demanded. The Republicans declared: "The tariff is in the hands of its enemies for revision. This bill is partial in its provisions. It does not place the right articles upon the free list. It makes too much of a reduction upon certain articles and not enough upon others. We believe in tariff reform, but if this bill becomes a law, the commercial interests of the country must suffer." It was a partisan aggression and a partisan opposition. Similar objections would have been urged against any measure which the Democrats could have devised. Both parties have feared that their old enemy would gain political capital by lowering the taxes of the people. The Republicans denounced the Mills bill as a free trade measure. They declared that it was "simply an entering wedge, the first step toward absolute free trade." Now, let us consider this argument for a moment. When the Mills bill went to the Senate for their consideration, the committee to whom it was referred, by majority report, recommended the substitution of the so-called Republican tariff bill, which would reduce the revenue about seventy-five millions of dollars (\$75,000,000). Immediately the Democratic leaders and journals denounced this measure in scathing terms, as being unwise in the extreme and threatening the prosperity of the nation. Now, according to my logic, if the Mills bill renders the Democratic party a free trade party because of a proposed reduction of sixty-five

millions of dollars (\$65,000,000) in the revenues, then the Senate tariff bill, by reason of its reduction of seventy-five millions of dollars (\$75,000,000) renders the Republican party a freer trade party by ten millions of dollars (\$10,000,000)!

Permit me to spend a few moments in giving the A. B. C. of the tariff question as I view it. First I ask that you grant this premise; namely, that the cost of production of many articles of import and of shipping to America is less in foreign lands than in this country. Having for the sake of argument taken this to be a fact which might be proved to your satisfaction, I ask your attention for just a moment while I give the

A. B. C. OF THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Articles of import into the United States.	Articles of import to be taxed.	1. High Tariff.	The duty exceeds the difference between the cost of production and may be prohibitive. Under these conditions the American manufacturer has the advantage over his foreign competitor.
		2. Moderate Tariff.	The duty equals the difference between the cost of production and favors the universal well-being. The foreign and the American manufacturer stand upon the same footing. Other things being equal, luxuries should receive the tax. This is the true protective system.
		3. Low Tariff.	The duty is less than the difference between the cost of production and may result in practical free trade. The foreign manufacturer has the advantage over the American competitor.
	Articles of import not to be taxed.	1. Those to the manufacture of which the climatic and other conditions in this country are unfavorable.	
		2. Raw materials and the so-called necessities of life should, other things being equal, be placed upon the free list.	

It will be seen that the great desideratum must always be the placing of the proper articles upon the free list and the imposition of the exact *per centum* of duty upon articles which in fact need protection, in order that the rights of the whole people may be perpetuated and the general well-being conserved, the interests of the legitimate American manufacturer forwarded and the welfare and prosperity of the wage-earning laborer carefully regarded. He who fulfils the requirement and solves this perplexing problem must have at command a most intimate knowledge of practical economics, such as few possess. Now, I do not profess to be thoroughly posted upon this much-mooted tariff question. I shall not attempt to discuss all the whys and wherefores of this intricate subject. What I aim to show is, that the tariff question is not a dividing issue in American politics. Although the vast majority of the people are clearly in favor of tariff reform, there is such a wide divergence of views as to the details in carrying it to successful consummation, that no political party has a well-defined policy upon the subject. No radical change in the tariff is proposed by either party nor would it be permitted by either. All parties cherish similar purposes upon the questions of tariff, surplus and labor.

As a matter of fact, the political parties of this country, as represented by the best thought within those parties, are favorable to the policy of a moderate tariff upon imports as before described, and although there is a wide diversity of opinion as to details, yet there is substantial unanimity as to the necessity for revision of our present tariff. It could not well be otherwise, for the interests of all of us, Democrats, Republicans and Prohibitionists, are closely bound up with the prosperity of the country. The principle of an economical administration of governmental affairs and a system of taxation limited to its requirements must ultimately triumph. As I view it, neither party, in itself, can carry out its promises upon the tariff question. The domination of any party means the continuation of our present tariff until such a time as the demand of the people for tariff reform shall become imperative, when it will be consummated by the co-operation of congressmen from all parties. When the contest comes, the great agricultural portions of the country will be found pitted

against the manufacturing sections. The tariff is a question of geography more than anything else. Not principle but pocket-book, as a rule, determines one's position upon the tariff question. In other words the tariff is not and from its very nature can not be a strict partisan issue. It will be settled upon a non-partisan basis. Even Mr. Blaine, the apostle of protection, makes the statement that after a century of agitation upon the subject we are no nearer its final solution. It is my belief that the politicians are raising a big dust upon the tariff question simply as a blind to the prohibitionists. They hope in this way to postpone the settlement of the issue of prohibition, which gives them so much trouble and interferes so often with their plans.

The national surplus, strictly speaking, does not exceed fifty-six millions of dollars (\$56,000,000) per year. That, I think, is a fair estimate. It does not include the amount paid into the sinking fund for the liquidation of the national debt. The burden of taxation, then, can not be lessened at present more than that amount. We must raise as much money as is needed in the economical administration of the government and the most convenient method is by a tax upon imports. The question, then, concerns an over-taxation of about fifty-six millions of dollars (\$56,000,000) annually. That is an average of less than one dollar for every man, woman and child in the country or about five dollars for every family. What importance, in comparison, can this issue have with the drink question, which concerns the annual expenditure of at least eight hundred millions of dollars (\$800,000,000) for that which not only does not add to the comfort and welfare of the people, but which positively injures their health, disturbs their peace and detracts from their material prosperity? If there were no expenditure for intoxicating liquors in this country, there would be a yearly saving, upon the average, in money alone, of fifteen dollars for every man, woman and child, or about seventy dollars, for every family. Not only is there a direct loss of over eight hundred millions of dollars (\$800,000,000) in money, but the indirect waste is incalculable. We must estimate the cost of the poor-houses, jails, insane hospitals, court-houses, drunkard-asylums and kindred institutions made necessary by the drink

traffic. Tell me the price of a human soul, fix upon the value of woman's happiness and childhood's innocence and I will give you the sum total of the loss occasioned by the accursed liquor traffic. The tariff is a question of economical politics; prohibition is not only that, but it nearly concerns the moral welfare of the people as well. I know not what others may think, but as for me, I can not see my way clear to vote in favor of whisky for the sake of the tariff. The man who attempts to kick aside this burning issue of home protection for the sake of the tariff question places a higher value upon a man's coat than upon his immortal soul. He tramples under foot the pleading petition of wife and babies to be heard now, *now*, NOW.

The Republican party seems to be about equally divided in its choice of a rallying cry between "high tariff, Bob Ingersoll and bloody shirt" upon the one hand and "hard cider, claret punch and free whisky" upon the other. A party that is reduced to the point of appealing to the lower instincts and passions of men instead of to their calm judgment ought to die. I say emphatically that the party which exalts Ingersoll to a prominent position in its councils and which permits the Bible to be spit upon, as was done in New York City last summer, will not receive the influence of my vote, so long as I can cast it as a rebuke to such blasphemy as that.

For the purpose of my argument let us translate Ali Baba and his forty thieves, of Arabian fame, to this country and age. Suppose that they enter upon the pursuit of their unlawful calling. They are indicted by the grand jury and brought into court to answer to the charge of murder, robbery, and the destruction of property. "Guilty or not guilty?" asks the judge. A minority of the band plead guilty, but the remainder through a spokesman respond as follows: "Your Honor, we do not favor robbery, murder and the destruction of property, but Ali Baba and his lieutenants persist in their wicked course and we are powerless to prevent them. "Are you guilty or not guilty of the charge?" repeats the judge. "Your Honor," replies the spokesman, "we hope at some time in the future to convert our leaders to our opinion in this matter. They were heard to say recently, after an unusually long and profitable raid, that they cordially sympathize with all

wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of honesty and law and order." "That has nothing to do with the case," thunders the judge, "are you guilty or not guilty, as charged in the indictment?" "Your Honor, we presented a poor, lone widow the other day with a large ham and a sack of potatoes!" In the face of such caviling what is the decision of the judge? He replies: "You are in bad company and although you claim to harbor good intentions, you are equally guilty with those of your band who go forth to rob, murder and destroy. Your actions belie your words. You enjoy the fruits of wickedness and uphold the hands of evil-doers while claiming to be exempt from the consequences of their misdeeds. Your hypocritical complicity shall bring upon you the severest penalty of the law for a crime of such enormity!"

Occasionally some one asks: "Why do you expend so much of your ammunition upon the Republican party, instead of dividing it more equally between the two old parties?" It is not difficult to answer that question. Place the two old parties upon trial. Charge them with complicity with the liquor traffic in the great crime of drunkard-making. "Guilty or not guilty?" ask the American people, who are both judge and jury. The Democratic party stands up in the prisoner's box and says: "We plead guilty to the indictment. We are opposed to prohibition. We are in favor of drunkard-making. We will get down upon our knees if need be to please the liquor dealers." The Democratic party makes this admission without a blush (you could not distinguish it, if the party did blush) and gives way to the Republican party. "Guilty or not guilty?" "Please, your Honor," says the Republican party, "there are many temperance men in our ranks. They hope at some time in the future to get control of the party machinery. We cordially sympathize with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality. We are the only true prohibition party. Why, some time ago we passed a high-license law in the state of Nebraska, and recently we enacted a local option law in Michigan. The Republican party is the only party that ever did anything for temperance." "But," say the American people, "are you guilty or not guilty of the charge that you are under the control of the liquor traffic of this country?" Ah, did you ever

meet a Republican who would admit that his party is down in the mud before the liquor power of America? No, he will not admit it: we must prove it. Is not the tremendous effort making upon the part of the anti-saloon Republicans to commit the party to an endorsement of their principles a virtual admission of the charge? If there is anything I despise, it is a pretentious hypocrite, whether it be an individual or a political party. I can respect an open liquor advocate in comparison.

But let us change the figure. Behold the castle of old King Alcohol. How strong the fortifications! From turret to foundation stone, it is manned by the Democratic party. "Old Sumptuary" is in complete possession. The outer breastworks are occupied by the right wing of the Republican party, the saloon Republicans, while marching and countermarching upon the plain below is the left wing of the party, the anti-saloon Republicans. We are after the head of old King Alcohol, but we must first storm his fortress—the legalized liquor traffic. The prohibition cohorts must rout first the van-guard division of the liquor army, then will follow its final defeat, the downfall of the fortress and the head of the old whisky monarch will adorn the outer gates as a warning to all enemies of temperance, morality and virtue.

After the decision of the impending election, no matter which party is successful, the way will be open for the settlement of this live, all-important question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Is it an axiom of civil polity that parties should never die? Horace Greeley, the great journalist and statesman, advocated the principle that political parties should be reorganized every twelve years. Any party—however glorious its history—will eventually become corrupt especially if it has control of the government for a long period of time. Change is as necessary to political purity as to the health of the individual. The breeze of heaven furnishes a purified atmosphere by constantly changing its relative position—by displacing the impure air of our crowded centers of population with the oxygen-laden zephyr from the forest-covered stretches of country. The seeds of corruption flourish in a still air and a stagnant water. Thus, there must be constant change in the position of these two elements for the preservation of their purity and healthfulness. Indeed, this prin-

principle of change touches everything in the universe of God.

There must be frequent revolution, then, in the political complexion of the administration, if the well-being of the nation is to be conserved. Our history as a nation bears me out in that statement. The constant ascendancy of one political party or faction inevitably results in corrupt combinations against the welfare of the public, whereby greedy politicians, and unprincipled leaders turn aside all agencies, good and bad, to their own base uses, while the interests of the people go begging for a guardian. The party or faction out of power is likely to be free from ring rule and, whatever else it may be, is not liable to be corrupt, official power being almost a pre-requisite to that condition of affairs. The dispersion of political rings, corrupt cliques and moss-back office-holders ought to be welcomed by every lover of his country's welfare.

Young men, I plead with you to leave the old, decaying, graveyard, liquor-loving, rum-ruled organizations and join the grand young party of morals, conscience and live issues, which is giving open battle for the homes of our land. We need and must have your aid. Thousands of young men have determined to cast their ballot and the weight of their moral support for the abolition of the curse of intemperance. They witness the manifold evils flowing from the habit and seeing, abhor them. It is comparatively easy for them so to decide for the prejudices of a life time do not preclude right action. Our brightest hopes lie with the youth of the nation: the rising generation will indeed solve the great problem. The young men of a nation are its strongest bulwark. When the call to war rings out over the affrighted land, you are the ones to shoulder the rifle, march to the front and if need be lay down your lives upon the altar of your country. We are now engaged in another irrepressible conflict—not with bullets, but with ballots. Not the groans of another race, but the tears of our kindred spur us on to nobler effort. Young men, this great question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic furnishes you, as does none other, with an opportunity for expending some of the zeal, enthusiasm and wealth of powers which adorn your manhood's prime in achieving the independence of the American people from the galling chains of a slavery far

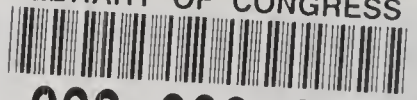
more terrible than that which cursed the poor negro!

The home protection cohorts are heeding the call and are gathering for the conflict. The best manhood and womanhood of the nation, to-day, are up in arms against this pitiless destroyer of our homes. We are waging a deathless warfare with the giant evil of this age—the curse of drink. Upon this most important question I plead for your best thought. I want you to think and act and vote soberly, intelligently, and above all, conscientiously. Yes, I do maintain that you should vote right upon the approaching sixth of November, calling to your assistance all the divinely appointed gifts of your glorious manhood. I plead with you in this supreme hour of the nation's need, to cast all the weight of your civic powers in the balance for our homes and beloved country. Propriety and fairness and justice and equity are calling for prompt and decided action upon the part of every loyal citizen. Oh, if every enlightened Christian voter in the land to-day, in the consideration of this all-pervasive question of the protection of the American home from the assaults of the American saloon, crystallizing into action the best impulses of an awakened conscience, should cast his ballot in harmony with his highest thought, our gallant standard bearers, Fisk and Brooks, would be nearer the White House to-day than either Cleveland or Harrison, our homes and loved ones would not long remain under the shadow of this terrible incubus of the demon's drink, and speedily would follow the downfall of the Red Dragon from his dominant position in the politics of our nation!

NOTE.

"THE DRAGON IN POLITICS, OR PROHIBITION THE GREAT ISSUE."
A speech by HENRY H. ROSER, delivered at Freeport, Illinois, October 15, 1888, upon the eve of the great conflict of ballots. It has been characterized as a clear, logical and forcible presentation of the claims of prohibition to recognition in the field of partisan politics and a convincing exposition of the province of the Prohibition party in the new crusade against the organized rum power. The book should be in the hands of every prohibitionist who is aiming to fortify himself in the great warfare upon the crime of the age. 12 mo, 40 pp., paper, 20 cents. Address the author at Platteville, Wisconsin.

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